been my chief guides to Toda lore. One man who had 123
pointed out to me certain sacred places fell ill and made up his mind that he was going to die. Another man lost his wife a few days after he had shown me the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies. A third man who had revealed to me the details of the ceremonial of the most sacred Toda dairy, suffered the loss of his own village dairy by fire.

The Todas consulted their diviners, who ascribed these events to the anger of the gods because their secrets had been revealed to the stranger. In consequence my sources of information ran dry to a large extent, and the difficulties in the way of the investigation of the more sacred topics were greatly increased. By the time it was settled that I was to blame I was nearly at the end of my visit, but it was in the last two or three weeks that I had hoped to overcome the scruples of the people and to obtain information on many doubtful points about which I had to come away unsatisfied.

One of the subjects on which my material is defective is the 114
folk-lore. I have a number of tales, but they are only 173
a small part of the store of Toda legend. I regret especially 538
the incompleteness of my work in this respect because I 776
believe that the Todas are rapidly forgetting their folk-tales and the legends of their gods, while their ceremonial remains to a large extent intact, and seems likely to continue so for some time.

I was especially struck by this because, in previous anthropological experience in the islands of Torres Straits with Dr. Haddon, we had found the exact opposite to be the case. In these islands, the ceremonial had disappeared, and the only record of it to be obtained was that derived from the memories of the oldest inhabitants. Nevertheless in Torres Straits the store of legend was still ample, and the agreement of the stories obtained from different individuals was so great that it was evident that the people had preserved their folk-lore with fidelity.

The difference between the two communities is easily ex- 600
plained. In Torres Straits missionary influence is strong, and missionary effort is always directed to break down the practices

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
123

CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

At certain seasons of the year it is customary that the 234x
buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from 221
one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are 233
accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; some- 778
times the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman 788
and one or more male assistants.

There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the 796
buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

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[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

234* Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
778 miödr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
783 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
796 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a
month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there
621 is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian
motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithkbutnol* or *irnüdrthnol*.

MIGRATIONS OF THE VILLAGE BUFFALOES

[124]

234* My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
221 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I
796 cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and
for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

234x the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary
221 work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the
796 women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpun*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*ekirzam meidjam*," the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray,
[415 using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the
482] milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütusht*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

[562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

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[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 (On reaching the new village, the palikartmokh purifies
221 the dairy by throwing into it water mixed with *tudr* bark.[1] The dairy things are taken off the sticks at an appointed
● 796 spot. The *palikartmokh* salutes the sun with *irkartiþpen* and *madth* as in the morning, and then all pray. After the prayer, the *palikartmokh* takes some ferns (*taf*) and puts them on the place within the dairy where the things of the *patatmar* are to stand, and these are put in their places on the ferns. The things of the *ertatmar* are then arranged in the same way. The *palikartmokh* makes fire by friction, lights the lamp, and then goes to milk the buffaloes. If he has brought milk with him, he will churn it. Meanwhile a ceremony called *nitiitiiti* will have been performed by a little girl about six or seven years of age in those cases in which all the inhabitants of the village are migrating. Before leaving the village from which the people are coming this girl will have been given food in the dairy. On reaching the new place, the girl plucks three blades of the slender grass called *kakar* and goes to the front of the dairy and sweeps the threshold with the grass. She does this with her right arm outside her cloak, and when she has swept she bows down with her forehead to the threshold three times. If there is more than one dairy, she sweeps the threshold of each. The *palikartmokh* then gives her a small handful of butter and the girl goes to the huts. Up to this time the women will have been waiting near the village, but when they see that the girl has performed her ceremony, they go to the huts and prepare the food called *ashkkartpimi*.[2]

When the *palikartmokh* has finished milking, he also prepares food, and when it is ready he throws some into the fire, *sirtütarsursthi*, "food into the fire he throws," and then gives out the food to the people, and they eat both this and that prepared by the women.

At some places the ceremonial is more complicated than at others, the degree of elaboration depending on the sacredness of the dairy to which the buffaloes are going. When they migrate to the especially sacred village of Kiudr the extra

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[1] This is probably only true of Teivali dairies.

[2] This is a special food used on important ceremonial occasions, the mode of preparation of which is given in Chapter XXIV.

234x complexity seems to depend on the presence of the bells of
221 the dairy of that village. When the *palikartmokh* reaches
796 Kiudr, he puts the dairy things he has brought with him at the back of the dairy. Another *palikartmokh* goes into the inner room and brings out the bells called *patatmani* and lays them by stones called *neurzülnkars* at one side of the dairy (see Fig. 31). He enters again and brings out four *ertatmani*, which he lays by the side of another group of stones called *neurzülnkars* (see Fig. 32). The second *palikartmokh* then purifies the dairy with *tudr* bark and puts the vessels which have been brought to Kiudr in their places on a bed of ferns in the way which has been described. After all the vessels are in their places, he takes the *patatmani* to the dairy stream, while the first *palikartmokh* brings *tudr* bark. The *tudr* bark is pounded and the juice squeezed over the bells. The two *patatmani*, having thus been purified, are then put on a forked
000 stick and carried to their usual place in the dairy. The same

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FIG. 32.—THE DAIRY OF KIUDR WITH THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' ETAMUDRI (58); ON THE RIGHT OF THE DAIRY ABOVE AND TO THE LEFT OF THE HEAD OF ETAMUDRI IS THE STONE CALLED 'NEURZÜLNKARS,' BY WHICH THE 'PATATMANI' IS LAID.

234x procedure is repeated with the *ertatmani*, which the same are strung on
796 a piece of bamboo and hung on another piece of bamboo which projects from the wall on the *ertat* side of the dairy. Then milk is put on the *patatmani* and buttermilk on the *ertatmani* as usual.

[778]

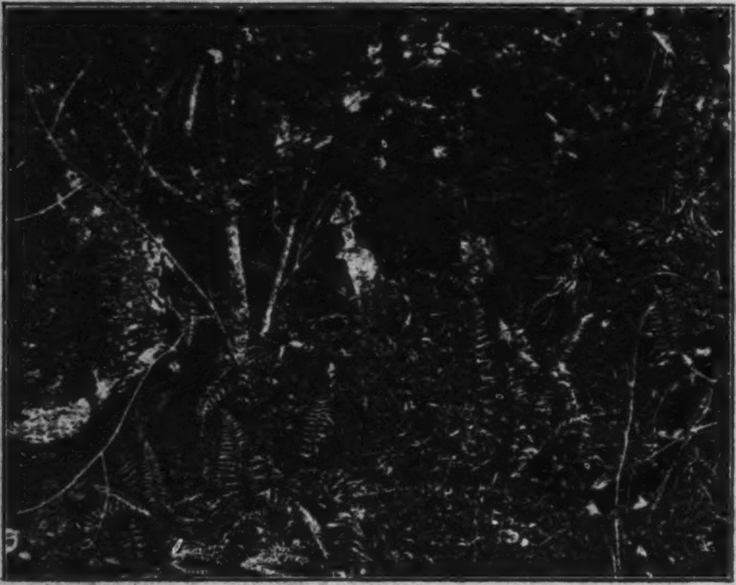

FIG. 32.—THE 'NEURZÜLNKARS' OF KIUDR, BY THE SIDE OF WHICH THE 'ERTATMANI' ARE LAID.

MIGRATION OF THE TI BUFFALOES

234x I obtained a very full account of the migration of the
233 buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* and will first give an account of
221 the proceedings for this herd.

796 The Toda year begins during October with the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* (see Chap. XIII) and at this time the buffaloes should be standing at Mòdr, near Paikara. Soon after this ceremony, the herd goes to Anto, the most important and sacred of the *ti* places. They stay here for a month and then go to Majòdr, not far from Makurti Peak, where they

stay during the dry season, stopping about three months or longer, according to the nature of the weather. It is often not until May is reached that the buffaloes return to Mòdr and stay there till August, when they cross the Paikara river to the two dairies, Òdrtho and Kudreiil, on the opposite bank. The *tüir* stay at Òdrtho and the *warsir* at Kudreiil for a month and then both return to Mòdr. 234 233 221 796

In 1902 this plan[1] was very much disturbed. In order to go from Mòdr to Òdrtho and Kudreiil the herds and their attendants have to cross the river, and under no circumstances is the *palol* allowed to cross by the bridge. He usually watches his opportunity till the river is low enough at a certain ford to allow him to cross, but the summer of 1902 was unusually wet and the river was never sufficiently low to allow the passage, and in consequence Òdrtho and Kudreiil were not visited in that year. [123]

Later it was arranged that the migration to Anto should take place on November 2nd. I was told that I might accompany the procession for part of the way, and was looking forward greatly to the occasion, as it was evident that it was my only chance of seeing and photographing the contents of the dairy. As the day approached, the migration was postponed because Teitsir, who was celebrating the funeral ceremonies of his wife and was therefore *ichchil*, had crossed the way by which the procession would have to pass. The ceremony was next arranged for November 23rd, but was then further postponed till the 30th. This was the last Sunday before the day on which I intended to leave the hills, and again I made arrangements to see the proceedings. No sooner had I done so than I was told that the procession was postponed for a week and was to take place on the day after I had left Ootacamund. I at once altered my plans and arranged to see the procession on December 7th. A new obstacle at once intervened, and I was told that the journey to Anto was deferred indefinitely, and, as I learnt afterwards from Samuel, the buffaloes did not go to Anto at all that year, but went direct from Mòdr to Majòdr on Wednesday, January 7th. All this occurred after the misfortunes had happened to

[1] [of buffalo migration —Analyst]

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were
234x believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—
221 and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements
and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due
233 to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred
●796 herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certainly vanish.

234x As we have seen, the migration to the relatively un-
[illegible] important dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday,
796 but when going to the more important places a Sunday must
be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the
177 new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days
appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also [177]
accompany the procession.

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the 234x
morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and
sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely 221
carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take 796
part in the procession must go without food on the morning
of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual.
The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes
are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the
pepkusthkars, which in some places, and possibly everywhere,
is in or near the wall of the *tu*.

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined 234x
rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate 284
objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*.
The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and 415
one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things 482
of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions.

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff 796
cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the
pütushi of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug*
is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called
a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar*
are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and
fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in
such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the
vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back,
one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrsum* are
placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy,
and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrsum*. The *kwoi*
is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed
along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the
latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the
back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an
interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even
when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate
between those of the inner and those of the outer
room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the
more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its

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● 796

burdens is carried by the *palol* on his left shoulder in the same way as is shown in Fig. 29, illustrating the method of carrying the things of the village dairy.

The *mani* is carried by the *palol* on his right side. A staff of *kiaz* wood is cut, about five cubits (*mogoi*) in length, which must be perfectly straight with a fork at one end. The bell is covered completely with *kiaz* leaves tied with rattan fastenings, and put on the fork of the staff by its ring. The staff is carried upright in the right hand of the *palol*; if he becomes tired he may rest it on his shoulder, but this must be done in such a way that the forked end of the stick carrying the bell comes in front of his body, otherwise the *palol* would be presenting his back to the sacred object.

At the Nòdrs *ti* there is an exception to the ordinary rule in the case of the *mani* of the *tiir*. It will be remembered that this bell is reputed to have been born in a *persin* during the migration from Amnòdr, and the bell is therefore carried in one of the *persin* during the migration from one dairy to another. In its place the *palol* of the *tiir* carries in his right hand the churning stick with its churning end upwards.

The *mani* is the only object of the inner room which is covered with leaves, so that it may not be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The lamp is also hidden from view within the *idrkwoi*, but I do not know whether this is for the same reason or merely because it is a convenient way of carrying it.

The *mòrol* carries the large earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*), which are at least four in number. They are tied on a staff by means of *tedshk* in the same manner as are the *persin*. This is done by the *kaltmokh*, who puts the staff and its burden on the left shoulder of the *mòrol*, taking particular care that the vessels do not touch the man. The *mòrol* carries one of the horns in his right hand.

Before the procession starts each *mani* is hung on the neck of a calf, left on for a minute or so, taken off and put on its staff. The *mani* of the *tiir* called Persin is put on the neck of a two-year-old calf of the *unir*, and that of the *warsir*, Keu, is put on the neck of one of the *perithir*.

If any dairy vessels or implements are not taken with the buffaloes, they are not left in the dairy, but hidden in a wood.

The procession then starts with the *mòrol* at its head. In 234^{x}
some cases a halt is made when passing certain places, and
prayer is offered by the *palol*. In going from Mòdr to Anto 221
the procession stops first at Pòrstib near Tedshteiri village 796
(belonging to the Nòdrsol), where the *wars palol* puts the staff carrying the *mani* on a stone and prays while touching the staff with his hands. The next halt is made at Ponvtüt, where the buffaloes separate from the *palol* and follow a slightly different route, and here the *wars palol* again prays. The procession halts for a third time at a place called Teirpül, near Anto, but this time it is the *ti palol* who prays after having placed the churning stick and bell on a stone.

On its way to Anto the procession passes near the village of Kiudr. When the buffaloes are seen to be coming, the women leave the house and go to the outskirts of the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve and broom, and wait there while the procession is going by. All the people of Kiudr fast on this day till after the buffaloes have passed.

It was said that on this day the *palikartmokh* of Kiudr used to rub clarified butter on the stones called *neurzülnkars*, but there was some doubt about this, and if the custom ever existed it seems to have fallen into disuse.

According to some accounts, certain clauses especially referring to the migration of the *ti* buffaloes are used in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see Chap. X).

On reaching the outskirts of the new place, the Todas who 234^{x}
have accompanied the procession go away. The staff carried 221
by the *mòrol* is taken off by the *kaltmokh*, who is again very 796
careful that the vessels do not touch their bearer. Although
the *mòrol* is allowed to carry some of the less sacred vessels, 415
care is taken throughout that the vessels shall not be contaminated by touching his body or his clothing.

All the dairy vessels are taken off and laid by a stone called the *perskars*, and then follows the ceremony of *peputi*. Each *palol* has carried with him some milk in one of the *persin*. Some of this is poured into the *peptòrsum*[1] and given to certain buffaloes, one of each kind belonging to the *ti*; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti*, the milk is given to five buffaloes, to three by one *palol*

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[1] The vessel derives its name from this ceremony.

234x and to two by the other. The milk may be given to buffaloes
221 directly from the *tòrzum*, or it may be poured into the hands
of the *palol* from which the appointed buffaloes drink.

[illegible]96 The next business is the purification of the dairy, called
415 *nòdrkorsi arspishpimi—i.e.*, we wash with *nòdrkorsi*. The *palol* goes to the dairy spring or *kwoinir* with the *karitòrzum*, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm. He throws *tudr* bark into the spring, fills the *karitòrzum* and returns. He puts *tudr* bark into the *karitòrzum* and also into the *idrkwoi* and then pours the water from the *karitòrzum* into the *idrkwoi*, which he takes to the dairy and throws the water with his hands first over the dairy vessels and then well into the dairy itself so that it penetrates to the inner room. He throws the water first on the floor, then to the roof and to the sides, three times to each. Next he takes three sprigs of the plant ordinarily called *kabudri* (*Euphorbia Rothiana*), but at the *ti* called *nòdrkorsi* and ties it over the door of the dairy.

The dairy vessels, which have been untied and placed on the ground near the *perskars*, are then purified and put in their places. The *palol* first takes up the *peptòrzum* with the *persinkudriki* within it, the *kòghlag*, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet*, all in the right hand, and carries them to the front of the dairy, where he repeats certain *kwarzam* of the prayer, then turns to the east and says the whole prayer of the dairy, salutes the dairy holding the four things to his forehead, enters, puts the things except the *kwoinörtpet* in their places, comes out with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without turning his back to the interior of the dairy, and shuts the door of the building. He then takes in the other vessels of the inner room, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without repeating the prayer. One *persin* is taken in first, then the others, the *karitòrzum* and the *tedshk*. Then the *mani* is taken, being carried in the right hand and laid temporarily on the floor near the *persin*; when taking in the bell certain *kwarzam* are said.

234x The wand called *pohvet* is next taken in and laid in its
796 place, and then the things intermediate between the inner and
outer room—viz., the lamp, which is hung in its place, and

the *idrkwoi*, which is put exactly at the line of junction of the two rooms. 234^x

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After this the things of the outer room are put in their places. Fire is made by friction, and the *tòratthwaskal* lighted, light transferred from this to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and with the fire so made the *palol* lights the lamp.

In most cases the buffaloes are then milked, but at Anto and Òdrtho, before milking, the *palol* begins an extraordinary ceremony, in which the *kaltmokh* is concerned, which is continued till the following day. 234^x 793 796

For this ceremony food is especially prepared by the *palol*. He mixes husked grain (*patcherski*), brought by the Badagas who accompany the procession, with buttermilk and jaggery,[1] spreads butter on the mixture, and, putting it on a *kakud* leaf, takes it out to one of the two *kaltmokh* who is sitting in a given place about ten yards from the dairy. The *kaltmokh* must now stay on this spot till the evening.

After the *palol* has milked, he takes food himself and gives it to the *mòrol*. Before going to rest for the night a ceremony is performed called *irtupadrchiti*, "he prays for the buffaloes at the *tu*." The two *palol* go to the front of the *tu*,[2] in which the buffaloes have been put for the night and they pray, using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and of the gods only. They then go to the sleeping hut, where the second *kaltmokh* has swept the floor and prepared a fire, When the *palol* come to the hut they bawl out in a high key three times and the *kaltmokh* does the same and they go to bed, the two *palol* occupying one bed (*tün*) and the *mòrol* and the second *kaltmokh* the other. After they have been in the hut some time, the first *kaltmokh*, who has been sitting till now outside at the place where he was given food, creeps into the hut and lies down to sleep between the two beds without any covering. No notice of him must be taken by the other occupants of the hut.

The following day is called *punirsnol*. In the early morning, before the others are awake, the first *kaltmokh* must get

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[1] Palm juice sugar.

[2] At Anto, and probably at some other dairies, there is a special *tu* for use on this occasion.

234 793 796 539 up, light the fire, warm himself, and then go out and sit on the same spot as on the previous evening. He remains there till the two *palol* come to him to continue the ceremony in which he is concerned.

When the *palol* rise they do their usual work, and when they have milked they perform a ceremony called *karkutkîrsiti*,[1] in which the calves are prayed for in the same way that the buffaloes were prayed for on the previous evening. The second *kaltmokh* collects the calves in the *pepkarmus*, or milking-place of the buffaloes, and the two *palol*, each with empty *kwoi* and with *kwoinörtpet*, pray as on the previous evening using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and some of the *kwarzam* of the gods, and then bawl out in a high key three times in order to scatter the calves.

The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* is then continued. Each of the *palol* takes the vessel used for ladling buttermilk (*mòrkudriki*); one *palol* fills his vessel with the milk of *punir* and the other fills with *nei* (clarified butter). Each leaves his dairy, and they both call to the *kaltmokh*, who comes to the threshold of the *ti poh*, and stands there while the two *palo*, mix the milk and *nei*. The *kaltmokh* is then told to hold out his hands, and each *palol* pours out the mixture into the hands of the boy, who rubs it over his head first, and then all over his body. After the *kaltmokh* has thus been bathed in milk and *nei*, the three people walk in procession to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been sitting, the *kaltmokh* going first, followed by the *wars palol* and the *ti palol* in order. As they walk, the two *palol* say the following words:—

Kûda	*mâ ;*	*pîrsi*	*puti*	*vurmâ ;*	*pob*	*ers*	*vurmâ ;*
die	may (he) ;	tiger	catch	(him) may ;	snake	bite	(him) may ;

per	*pûglith*	*vurmâ*	*pûkh*	*pûdith*	*vurmâ*	*pudi*
steep hill	fall down	(on him) may ;	river	fall	(on him) may[2] ;	wild boar

ers	*mâ ;*	*bûdr*	*pat*	*mâ ;*	*keirman*	*par* *mâ.*
bite	may ;	wild beast	hold (catch him)	may ;	bear	carry (him) away may.

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[1] This word was translated "he prays for the calves." One verb is used in naming the ceremony of praying for the calves and another in the case of praying for the adult buffaloes.

[2] Probably this should be translated "may the river (when in flood) swallow him.

When they come to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been given the food, the boy remains standing there while the two *palol* turn round and walk back in the dairy, saying :— 234x 793 796 539

Kûda mĕd, idvaiik, ulitkmĕd; pirsi par mĕd,
die may (he), as was said, may he be well; tiger carry away may,
idvaiik para udmĕd; par par mĕd, idvaiik,
as was said, carry away may not; steep hill fall may, as was said,
para udmĕd; pŭb ari mĕd, idvaiik, aris udmĕd; pūkh par mĕd,
fall may not; snake bite may, as was said, bite may not; river fall may,
idvaiik, para udmĕd; kĕdr pat mĕd, idvaiik, pata
as was said, fall may not; wild beast catch may, as was said, catch
udmĕd; kadrman par mĕd, idvaiik, para udmĕd;
may not; bear carry away may, as was said, carry away may not;
pudi ari mĕd, idvaiik, aris udmĕd.
wild boar bite may, as was said, bite may not.

The *ti palol* then enters his dairy and brings out an especially large ball of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, more than can possibly be eaten at one sitting. It is given to the *kaltmokh*, who sits on the same spot as before, and eats as much of it as he can. 234x 793 796

All this ceremony has been done after milking, and before drinking buttermilk (*kaishvatiti*), which is now poured out by the second *kaltmokh* for the *palol*, who then go about their usual business. When the first *kaltmokh* has eaten as much as he can of his ball of food he leaves it on the spot where he has been sitting, and goes with the *palol*. The Todas say that the food left behind will never be touched by the crows, who will eat any other food.

In the afternoon the *palol* transact their ordinary dairy business and the *kaltmokh* returns to his place and resumes the consumption of his ball of food, staying on the spot till the end of the day. When the two *palol* have gone into the sleeping hut for the night, the *kaltmokh* goes into the hut after them and may then talk to the other occupants, and after this follows the usual routine.

During the whole of this ceremony the *kaltmokh*, who takes so prominent a part in it, is called the *neurzutpol*.

At the other dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* a ceremony which is obviously closely connected with that which has been

234ˣ described is performed at certain stones called *neurzülnkars.*
773 At Mòdr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and
three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably
796 by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *palol* takes a *mòrkudriki*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *nei*, as when rubbed on the *kaltmokh*). The two *palol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kaltmokh* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kaltmokh*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *neurzutpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *neurzülnkars*.

778 The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* which follows the migra-
783 tion to the dairies of Anto and Òdrtho is one of the most
extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of
789 the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kaltmokh*,
793 followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was
wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony
796 from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kaltmokh* is
being made responsible for any offence which may have been
committed against the very sacred dairies of Anto and
Òdrtho. The *kaltmokh* having been cursed, and so made
responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the
evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not
done.

It is possible that the *kaltmokh* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kaltmokh* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kaltmokh* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mani* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible
evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Òdrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features
of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
●796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the
head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the
first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have
taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234x At some time during the day following the arrival at the
new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nòdrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—
a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—*i.e.*, "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that *erdpunrs* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the 234^{x}
day following the migration. 221

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The 796
general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds,
but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other
ti is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which
the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it
absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the
way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*.

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the 234^{x}
year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay 221
about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season,
returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at 233
Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable 621
that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the 796
ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the
legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a
ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted
until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*.

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *mani* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes
of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no
information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy [778]
of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neursülnkars*.
I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the
migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with
clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see
Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*.

THE TESHERST CEREMONY

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This qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* is always performed by a number of men at the same time. The number taking part must be three, five, seven or nine. There seemed to be no doubt that it was not permissible for four, six or eight men to perform the ceremony together. One or two Todas told me that an even number of men might do the ceremony, but all the more trustworthy witnesses were agreed that there must be an uneven number, and on all the occasions of which I could obtain records of actual ceremonies, an uneven number of men had done *tesherst* together. The ceremony may not be performed while the funeral ceremonies of any Teivali person are uncompleted.

At the time of my visit there were only nine or ten men who had been through the *tesherst* ceremony, including those who were holding or had held the office of *palol*. It was proposed that a number of the younger men should perform the ceremony about this time, but it had to be delayed till the second funeral ceremonies of two Teivali women had been held.

The *tesherst* ceremony always begins on a Monday after the new moon. It takes place at certain villages where people are living, and in all the cases of which I obtained records it had been done at Kudrnakhum, belonging to the Nòdrsol, or at Pushtar, belonging to the Taradrol. People must be living at the village at the time the ceremony is performed.

The candidates go to the village on Monday evening, accompanied by two or three Nòdrs men. All go to a stream by a wood and the ceremony begins after sunset, when all the candidates throw off their cloaks and stand in a row. A man of the Nòdrs clan has a *tuni* in his hand and each candidate asks three times, "*Tunivatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tuni*?"—and each time the Nòdrs man replies, "*Tunivat!*" The first man in the row touches the *tuni* and then the others in order. The Nòdrs man then gives the *tuni* to the first man who touched it, and he tears it into as many pieces

as there are candidates, giving a piece to each man, who puts 234x
it in the string of his *kuvn*. All then go in search of the 261
leaves of *muli* and each plucks seven leaves and seven shoots. 793
They go to the stream, one by one, and each drinks and rubs 796●
himself with the shoots seven times, as in the ordination
ceremony, and puts the shoots in his back hair. 887

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs man will have made fire by friction, using the wood of *muli*, and the men warm themselves at the fire. Each man then goes in search of seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark and carries out the usual purification ceremony once only, drinking out of each of the seven leaves, after which the men take food prepared by another of the Nòdrs men, and all pass the night in the wood. Next morning the men fetch *tudr* bark and leaves and repeat the drinking and rubbing ceremony of the previous evening, but on this occasion each man says "*Teshniròdinem*," as he throws the leaf over his head after drinking. All then bathe completely in the stream.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs men have been cooking a large amount of food, more than the candidates can readily eat, and an old woman of the Tartharol who is to take part in the ceremony has bathed and dressed in her best clothes and put on all the ornaments she can procure: gold earrings, necklace, bracelets, and rings. When the men have bathed, they wait till the message comes that the food is ready, and then each man takes off his piece of *tuni* and his *pennar* and his *kuvn*, so that he is completely naked. The Nòdrs man portions out the food and puts it on *tudr* leaves, the portion for each man being more than he can possibly eat at one sitting, and the portions of food are given to the old woman, who sits down with her back to the men. Each man goes up behind the back of the old woman, and she gives him his portion of food by putting her hand behind her back so that she does not look at him, and in doing so she says three times "*Teshtòrtudenk?*"—"*Tesh* food have I not given?" The men take the food, go into the thickest part of the wood and eat it. None of the food prepared on this occasion may be eaten by the Nòdrs men or by the old woman, but though the amount is excessive, the whole of it must be eaten by the

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candidates during the day. After each man has eaten to the full he may put on his cloak. The Nòdrs men and the old woman go back to their villages and they must hold no communication of any kind with the candidates after the food has been given. The men remain in the wood all day, and when it is getting dark they go to the nearest village at which any of them live, taking care that no one sees them on the way.

One of the most remarkable features of this ceremony is the part taken by the old woman. She must be one of the Tartharol; she must be past the age of child-bearing, and she must never have had intercourse with one of her own clan. In the last particular the word of the woman is trusted for it was said that she would never deceive in such a matter. Every woman believed that if she did not speak the truth she would die, and all those concerned in the ceremony would either die or have serious illness. I was told that it was by no means easy to find a woman who fulfilled this requirement, and in each of the cases of which I have records the same woman officiated—viz. Naspilthi of Taradr (21).

Other remarkable features of this ceremony are that the men should be given more food than they are readily able to eat, as in the ceremony connected with the *kaltmokh* after the migration (p. 139), and that they receive this food in a condition of complete nudity, a condition which only occurs in one other dairy ceremonial.

The *teskerst* ceremony is one in which candidates for the office of *palol* go through certain of the rites which ordinarily form part of the process of ordination, with the addition of special ceremonies, in which a superabundant portion of food is given by a woman who fulfils certain peculiar conditions.

When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the clan to which the *ti* belongs chooses from among those who have been through the *teskerst* ceremony, and the chosen man has then to undergo the ordination ceremonies proper, or *niroditi*.

234x (if there are two, as at the Nödrs *ti*) sleep in the hut of the *ti mad*.

793 The next day (Thursday) the new *palol* goes to the stream and performs the *tudr* ceremony three times in the morning and nine times in the afternoon; *i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three and nine times seven. On this day the *kaltmokh* milks the *punir*, takes the milk to the *pül*, churns there and gives buttermilk, butter and other food to the new *palol*. On that night all sleep in the *karenpoh* or calf-house.

The proceedings of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are the same as those of Thursday, except that the new *palol* may now drink the milk of the *punir* like the full *palol*.

235x On Monday morning the new *palol* enters on his office.
793 In the morning he bathes and then takes off the temporary
ponnar and *kuvn* he has been wearing and replaces them by
292 others made in the same way. A Badaga (the *tikelfmav*) then
783 brings one of the two cloaks of the *palol*, that called
pödrshtuni, and lays it down at the outskirts of the dairy. It
776 is taken up by the *kaltmokh* and given to the new *palol*, who spreads it out on the place where the buffaloes are milked. He then takes pounded *tudr* bark, says the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the *ti* and of the buffaloes (see Chap. X) and throws the pounded bark on the garment. He turns the garment over so as to expose the other surface and purifies this in the same way. He then asks himself, "*Pödrshtuni tuthina?*"—"Shall I tie the *pödrshtuni*?"—and throwing off the *mad tuni* he has been wearing hitherto, he puts on the *pödrshtuni*. The *kaltmokh* returns the *mad tuni* to the Nödrs people, who come on this day and stand on the outskirts of the place.

The new *palol* then purifies his dairy by sprinkling it with water and *tudr* bark in the same way as is done when going to a new dairy (see p. 136). He next takes the *uppun*, puts into it water and *tudr* bark, and turning towards the Nödrs people with the vessel to his forehead, says three times to them, "*Poh pükhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the dairy?" All the Nödrs people cry "*Pükh!*" and the new *palol* enters his dairy with the full rights of his position.

800 At some period before entering into office as full *palol*

At some time before entering into office as full palol the candidate touches a *tasth* or bar of the entrance into the *ti*. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the *kaltmokh*, and as in this case it seemed to be the special indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the *tasth* is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished. 234x 574 793 796●

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pun*, nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called *kubentuni* is brought by the *tikelfmav*, and is put on in the usual way. (During the previous month the *pidrshtuni* will have been used both as a cloak and as a loincloth, and will have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and sit in the *pal* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol first, saying "*Baä*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol, saying "*Pakeia*," and each reply in the customary manner. [292] [576]

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *muli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity. 234x 793

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Òdr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *mulinirkditi* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvn* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh*

CHAPTER VIII

SPECIAL DAIRY CEREMONIES

234x 796 I HAVE so far dealt with the organisation and ritual of the dairy, with the ceremonies accompanying the movements of the buffaloes from one place to another, and with the ceremonies attendant on the entrance of the dairymen into office. There remain ceremonies which accompany certain events in the course of the dairy ritual or in the lives of the buffaloes. One of these, the *pepkaricha* ceremony, is performed whenever any evil befalls a certain dairy vessel which is buried in the buffalo pen. Another ceremony celebrates the birth of a calf, and a group of ceremonies are connected with the act of giving salt to the buffaloes.

THE PEPKARICHA CEREMONY

234x 783 796 In the account of the daily work of the dairy, it will be remembered that whenever the dairyman goes out to milk for the first time he puts some buttermilk into his milking vessel. This is done in every dairy, and the buttermilk so added is called *pep*. The milk of every day has mixed with it some of the buttermilk from the milking of the day before, and in this way continuity is kept up in the dairy operations. Under certain conditions this continuity is broken and new *pep* has to be made, and the process of doing so is the ceremony called *pepkaricha*, *pepkarichti*, or *pepkarichanudr* —*i.e.*, "*pep* he purifies," or, "if *pep* is purified."

In some cases new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan

(*madol*); in other cases it has only to be made for one of the dairies of the clan. 234 x
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The ceremony is performed for the whole clan whenever anything goes wrong with a certain dairy vessel called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen at the chief village of the clan. We have seen that this vessel is used in the ordination to certain dairy offices, and it is also inspected as a matter of routine about once a year. If it is broken or has been stolen or tampered with in any way, it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

Among the Tartharol, new *pep* has also to be made after the funeral of a male on account of the defilement of the *mani* involved in its exposure to the ordinary people at the funeral ceremonies.

The conditions which necessitate the making of new *pep* for a single dairy are, (1) if a Tamil or other "foreigner" has entered the dairy, (2) if an ordinary Toda (*perol*) has gone into the dairy at night, (3) if the dairyman has used tobacco. In these cases the people of the village at which the offence has been committed procure a new *mu*, and, after purifying it, go to some other dairy of the clan, where they procure some buttermilk to act as *pep* and take it to their own dairy. It is only when new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan that the prolonged ceremony of *pepkarichti* has to be carried out. This ceremony differs in its details for each clan, and is more complicated in some cases than in others. As an example, I will give the proceedings for the Kuudr clan.

When it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole group of dairies belonging to the clan it is necessary to take the buffaloes to one special dairy. The Kuudr people go to the dairy of Kwirg near Sholur. On the day of going to Kwirg, a feast is held at which the food called *ashkkartpimi* is eaten.

Whenever new *pep* is made it is necessary to have a new *palikartmokh*, and the man who is to undertake the duties goes to Kwirg with the milking buffaloes of the *pasthir* and is accompanied by a number of Kuudr men. The men take with them a new and complete set of dairy vessels, and reach Kwirg in the early morning of a Sunday after the new moon.

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The buffaloes are at once penned in the *tu*. The first business is the ordination of the new *palikartmokh*, which is carried out as usual. When at the stream for the purification ceremony, the *palikartmokh* has with him a new *mu*, which he fills with water at the stream. He takes this vessel to the *tu* in which the buffaloes are penned, and knocks one of the buffaloes on the back with his wand (*pet*), so that it moves to one side. Then with the wand he digs some earth from the spot where the hoof of the buffalo had been resting, and mixes this earth with *tudr* bark. He places part of the mixed earth and bark in the *mu*, and puts the rest on one side; this part of the ceremony is called *mukatchkudrspini*, or purification of the *mu*, literally "*mu* purification I have purified."

The *palikartmokh* then brings all the other dairy vessels and implements, beginning with the *patat*, and purifies them by throwing on them mixed earth and *tudr* bark, sprinkling them with water from the *mu* three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time. The things of the *patatmar* are purified first and then the things of the *ertatmar*, and the purified objects are placed in the dairy. Fire is made by friction and the *palikartmokh* goes out to milk. Buttermilk is not put into the milking-vessel as usual, and the lamp is not lighted. The milk is poured into the *patat*, and the *palikartmokh* then prepares food, which he gives to the people who have come with him, but he himself fasts. All the men then go away except one or two, who are to remain as companions of the dairyman. In the evening the *palikartmokh* takes off some of the cream,[1] which has risen to the top of the milk, and puts it into the lamp which he lights, and then prays, using the *kwarzam* of Kwirg[2] and the *kwarzam* of the *pep* only.

If the milk has coagulated it is now churned, and then the buffaloes are milked as usual, but if the milk has not coagulated, it is left till next morning. In the evening the dairyman takes food as usual.

On the following day, it seems that the milk has always

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[1] This is the only occasion on which this cream is used by the Todas. It is used because there are now neither butter nor ghi at the dairy. Its use here is an indication that the process of coagulation is less rapid than usual.

[2] See p. 222.

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become solid and is churned. Immediately after churning and without taking food, the dairyman puts together the dairy things according to the usual method followed when going from one village to another, and goes with his buffaloes to the village of Kiudr. The dairy vessels are carried in the usual manner, the new buttermilk called *puthpep* being in the *patat* and the butter in the *mu*.

The people living at Kiudr leave the village, and the man who has been filling the office of *palikartmokh* there throws away all the old dairy things and takes the *mani* to the stones by the side of that dairy called *neurzülnkars* (see p. 129). After leaving the bells there for a little time, the dairyman takes them to the *pali nipa*, and then his office ceases and he becomes *perol*.

The new *palikartmokh*, who has come from Kwirg, purifies the dairy and his new dairy vessels and the *mani* in exactly the same way as when reaching a new dairy, and then places the bells, vessels, and other objects in the dairy. During the next month, till the following new moon, the dairyman and his companions stay alone at Kiudr doing the ordinary business of the dairy. During this time they may be visited by men of the Kuudr clan, but neither by women nor by men of other clans. At the end of the month, on the Sunday after the new moon, the *palikartmokh* drives the buffaloes (now called *ponir*, festival buffaloes) to Kuudr, taking with him the *puthpep* and the dairy vessels. When the people at Kuudr see the dairyman coming with the *ponir*, they leave the village and all go to Kiudr, which the buffaloes have just left. There they hold a feast to which many people of other clans, both men and women, are invited.

When the *palikartmokh* reaches Kuudr, he purifies the dairy as he had done at Kiudr and puts the vessels in their places.

Certain men of the clan then come, each with a new *mu*, and these vessels are laid by the side of the stones called *keinkars* and *tashtikars* in the wall of the pen. At Kuudr fifteen new *mu* should be brought by the fifteen heads of families of the Kuudr clan. The *palikartmokh* then purifies each *mu* with *tudr* bark in the usual way and places the

234X vessels on the *patatmar* of the dairy, after which he gives 783 food to those who have provided the vessels.

796 The *palikartmokh* with his companion or companions then stay at Kuudr for a month, when, again on a Sunday after the new moon, all the Kuudrol assemble at Kuudr and hold a feast. On that day a new *palikartmokh* is appointed for each dairy of the Kuudr clan. Each man goes through the usual ordination ceremony and then receives one of the new *mu* containing some of the new *pep*, which he takes to his dairy. Each new dairyman also provides new dairy vessels, and, when he reaches his dairy, purifies the *mu* and the new dairy things in the way already described. He puts the vessels into the dairy and then goes to milk, taking some of the new *pep* in his milking-vessel, and thereafter matters go on as usual. Each new dairyman fasts while going to his dairy with the new *pep*, although the rest of the people are feasting.

Those who remain at Kuudr bury the *mu* in which the *pep* was brought from Kwirg. It is buried by the side of the pen, under a tree called *teikhkwadiki*.

The ceremony of making new *pep* is carried out on the same lines in all dairies, but usually it is less complicated and fewer villages have to be visited than in the case of the Kuudrol. It seems that there is a tendency in some clans to perform the ceremony less rigidly than of old. Thus, the Kars people used to go to Keshker for new *pep*, but now they perform the ceremony at Kars itself, so that the migration to a new place with its attendant ceremonial is avoided.

There are certain differences in the procedure in the case of Teivali and Tarthar clans. One, the necessity for new *pep* after the funeral of a male, has been already mentioned.

Another difference is that there is a buried *mu* for each kind of dairy, so that a clan which has two or three kinds of dairy will have two or three *mu* buried in the pen. If it is the *mu* belonging to the *wursuli* which is broken or tampered with, the ceremony is performed by the *wursol*, who takes earth from the footprints of one of the *wursulir*. If the *mu* of the *kudrpali* is injured, the *kudrpalikartmokh* performs the ceremony, taking earth from the footprints of one of the other kinds of sacred buffaloes. Thus at Kars he takes it from the prints of the *martir*. 234x 783

At Kanòdrs new *pep* has to be made at a place called Kautarmad, which I could not identify. It is a long way from Kanòdrs, but the people have to go there because the god Kwoto used to make *pep* there. There is one feature peculiar to the ceremony for this clan. Earth has to be taken from a certain spot from which it was taken by Kwoto, and this earth is mixed with that taken from the footprints of the buffalo. 796

Another special feature of the Kanòdrs dairy is connected with the buried *mu* and is probably the result of the fact that this dairy is now only occupied occasionally. When the *pohkartpol* leaves the dairy on vacating office, he takes up the buried *mu*, pours into it a small quantity of *pep*, and reburies the vessel, covering it on the top with a stone. When he resumes office, he takes up the *mu* and purifies it with the two kinds of earth used in the full ceremony, and puts the *pep* which has been buried into his milking-vessel when he goes out to milk for the first time. As in other Tarthar clans, the full ceremony of *pepkaricha* is only carried out when the *mu* is broken or stolen, and after the funeral of a male.

A characteristic feature of Toda dairy procedure is the coagulation of the milk before it is churned. This coagulation occurs in a few hours without the addition of rennet or other special coagulating agent, the milk drawn in the morning being nearly always solid at the time of the afternoon churning. This rapid coagulation of the milk is almost certainly assisted by the added buttermilk or *pep*, the curdling being probably an acid coagulation set up or hastened by the addition of the sour buttermilk. If this were the case, it might be expected that habitual failure of the milk to coagulate might be regarded as a reason for making new *pep*, and I therefore inquired carefully into this point. It was quite clear, however, that delay in the coagulation was not looked upon as a reason for the ceremony. If there was habitual delay, it was customary to consult the diviners, and they always gave one of two reasons for the delay: either that it was due to the action of a sorcerer, or that the dairyman had committed one 234x 754 787

234x 754 787 of the offences against the dairy of which a list is given on p. 295.

If delay were said to be due to the first cause, the sorcerer would be invited to the village, entertained with food, and induced to remove his spell; if to the second cause, the dairyman would have to perform the *irnörtiti* or similar ceremony; but there was never any question of making new *pep*, the necessity for this ceremony being entirely dependent on the condition of the buried dairy vessel.

THE IRPALVUSTHI CEREMONY

234x 796 [778] The ceremony of *irpalvusthi* (buffalo milk he milks) is performed about the fifteenth day after the birth of a calf. It only takes place when one of the sacred buffaloes has calved, and is not performed in ordinary villages for *putiir*, nor at the *ti* for *punir*. It is performed after the birth of both male and female calves. The ceremony is carried out in the same fashion at the *wursuli*, the *kudrpali* and the *tarvali*, but has different features at the *kugvali* of Taradr and at the *ti*.

There are special days for the ceremony. At the *tarvali*, it must be performed on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday; at the *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, on Sunday or Wednesday; at the *kugvali*, on Saturday. The ceremony is performed at the *ti*, but I omitted to obtain any account of the proceedings at this grade of dairy.

When this ceremony is held at the village of Kuudr, a man from Ôdr belonging to the Nodrsol must attend, and similarly a man from Kuudr must be present when the ceremony is performed at Kuudr, this regulation being the result of certain events in the histories of the buffaloes of these places (see p. 647).

At each of the three kinds of dairy which follow the same procedure, the chief part is taken by the dairyman. At the *wursuli*, the *wursol* officiates, and at the *kudrpali* and *tarvali*, the *palikartmokh*.

The first appropriate occasion after the fifteenth day from the birth of the calf is appointed and the dairy is purified with

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dried buffalo-dung. Contrary to the general rule, the lamp is lighted on the morning of this day. All the buffaloes are milked as usual; one or two *pun* of milk being poured into the *patat* and all the rest into the *ertat*.

The dairyman then puts some milk into the milking-vessel, and, carrying his wand, he leads the fifteen-day-old calf to its mother to be suckled. While the calf is being suckled, the dairyman strikes the mother on the right side of the back three times with the wand, saying "*On*" each time. He then puts the wand on the top of the milking-vessel and, holding both in his left hand, milks the buffalo once or twice with the other hand, so that the milk splashes on the wand as it falls into the vessel. The vessel and wand are then laid at the back of the dairy, which the dairyman enters to prepare food, boiling grain or rice with milk in a special vessel (*ertat*) kept for the purpose. While the food is being cooked the dairyman takes some of the grass called *kakar* and the plant called *kabudri*, and sweeps the interior of the dairy with them, beginning at the *patatmar*. While doing this and during his other operations on this day, he must not turn his back to the contents of the dairy. After having swept the dairy, he lays the *kakar* and *kabudri* by the wall of the building, again takes the milking-vessel and wand from the back of the dairy, and, having called the people of the village, he salutes by raising the vessel and wand to his forehead and prays, all present praying with him. I am not certain whether it is the prayer of the village or a special prayer which is used on this occasion. After praying, the dairyman lays the wand on the top of the *patat* and pours the milk which he obtained from the buffalo into the *patat* over the wand. He puts the latter in its appointed place and then goes to the *ertatmar*, where he prepares a large number of leaves on which he portions out the food (*tòrkisthiti*) which he has prepared, and all the people present take this food outside the dairy. On the following day, the buffalo which has calved is milked with the rest.

When this ceremony is performed at the *wursuli* dairy, it is the only occasion on which the *wursol* prepares food; at all other times, the food of this dairyman is prepared by the *palikartmokh*. On this occasion the *wursol* not only cooks food for himself but for all those present. Another distinctive feature of this ceremony is that it is the only occasion on which the milk of the *wursulir* is ever drunk.

The day of *irpalvusthi* is the only day on which the dairymen of the three kinds of dairy, with the exception of the *wursol* of certain dairies, do their work *kabkaditi*, *i.e.*, do not turn their backs to the contents of the dairy.

At the *kugvali* of Taradr, the ceremony is more elaborate. It begins in the afternoon, when the dairy is purified with dried buffalo-dung. Three large pieces of the wood called *kid* are brought, and the dairyman ties the small piece of cloth called *petuni* to the milking-vessel and to a special wand called *irpalvusthpet*.[1] He also ties *petuni* in the form of rings round the ring and little fingers of his right hand and round the ring finger of his left hand. He then goes out with the milking-vessel and wand, and after saluting by raising them to his forehead, he goes to the place where the buffaloes are milked and prays there.

The *kugvalikartmokh* then takes the calf to its mother and milks as at the other dairies, but in this case he milks the buffalo completely, and if, by doing so, he has not filled his milking-vessel, he fills it with the milk of *putiir*. He pours this milk into the *majpariv*, which has been carefully cleaned, and puts the three pieces of *kid* wood in the fireplace. He puts into the milk three measures (*ak*) of rice, but adds neither salt nor jaggery. When the food is ready, he portions it out on leaves and gives to those present, who must on this occasion be limited to the people of the village. This ceremony occurs on Saturday evening.

On the following day, the ceremony is repeated, being called on this occasion *irpatadûthti*, *i.e.*, "buffalo milk he uses publicly." When preparing food on this day the *kugvalikartmokh* puts into the milk eleven *ak* of rice[2] and adds both salt and jaggery. The number of pieces of wood used is not limited to three, but any quantity may be burnt. When the food is ready, he goes out of the dairy and finds

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[1] I am doubtful whether a special wand is also used in other dairies.

[2] Eleven *ak* = one *kwa* (see p. 588).

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assembled a large number of people, including guests from other villages and clans. Among them a Melgars man must be included or there could be no ceremony. When the dairyman sees the people, he says "*Ol pudra?*" "People, have you come?" They answer "*Pudspimi*," "We have come." The dairyman then brings the stirring-stick (*put*), and, taking up some of the food on the stick, says "*Tütr erkina?*" "At the fire shall I throw?" and the people answer "*Tütr eri!*" "At the fire, throw!" The dairyman then throws the food on the stick into the fire, and portions out the rest of the food among the people, who eat it outside the dairy.

From the birth of the calf until this ceremony, the buffalo is not milked and the calf is kept, when not with its mother, in the small enclosure called *kush*. After the ceremony, the buffalo is milked like the rest of the herd, and the calf joins the others in the ordinary calf-house, or *kwotars*.

GIVING SALT TO BUFFALOES

Salt is given to the buffaloes five times a year, both at the *ti mad* and the ordinary village. At the *ti* the salt is given with buttermilk, and the ceremony is known as *mòrup*. At the ordinary village buttermilk is not given, and there is no general name for the ceremony, though there are special names for three of the five occasions on which salt is given. These special names are also used at the *ti*. The first occasion is *kòrup*, or 'new grass salt,' which takes place in the month Nalani (February-March). The second is *marup*, or 'again salt,' a month later in Ani. The next two occasions have no special names, but in the ordinary village are known as *arsup*, 'house salt,' given in the months Ovani and Kirdivi (June-July and September-October). The last occasion is in the month Emioti (November-December), and is known as *paniup*, meaning 'frost salt.' In the case of *kòrup* and *paniup*, it seemed that salt was given shortly before the time at which the young grass and frost respectively were expected.

At the *ti* the ceremony is performed on the Sunday or Tuesday following the new moon. At the Nòdrs *ti* it should be done for the *tiir* on Sunday and for the *warsir* on Tuesday, but this now only happens when the buffaloes are at Òdrtho and Kudreiil, where the dairies of the two kinds of buffaloes are at some distance apart. At Mòdr and Anto and other dairies, the ceremony is performed for both kinds of buffalo on a Sunday. At the Pan *ti* the day for the ceremony is Tuesday, and at the Kars *ti*, Sunday.

On the day before the ceremony each *palol*[1] digs a round hole called the *upunkudi* at a prescribed spot, or more commonly enlarges the hole remaining from a previous ceremony. On the following day each *palol* carries out the usual morning churning and milking, but before drinking buttermilk the dairy is cleansed with buffalo-dung. The *palol* then pours into the vessel called *alug* two *kudi* of buttermilk and takes the vessel and some salt to the *upunkudi*. He throws bark of the *tudr* tree three times into the hole, three times into the buttermilk and on the salt, and going to the spring he throws the bark three times into the water, saying "*On*" each time. The *palol* then fills the *alug* with water from the spring, mixing it with the buttermilk already in the vessel. He adds salt, saying "*On*" three times, and the whole is poured into the *upunkudi*. A special buffalo is then brought to the *upunkudi*; at the Nòdrs *ti* the *ti palol* first leads up the buffalo belonging to the *unir* which is called Enmars and the *wars palol* takes the buffalo of the *perithir* called Òrsum, this act of sending a special buffalo first being called *irpârsatiti*. After this all the buffaloes are taken to drink in groups of five or six. When the hole has been emptied, it is refilled with salt and water, but this time no buttermilk is added. When all the buffaloes have drunk, each *palol* pulls some of the grass called *kargh* and throws it into the hole three times and returns to his dairy to take buttermilk from the *kaltmokh* as usual.

At the ordinary village the salt-giving ceremony is performed about a week after it has been done at the *ti*. Any day may be chosen except the *madnol*, *palinol*, or *arpatznol*.[1] Thus at Kuudr the ceremony may be performed on any day except Tuesday and Friday; at Kars, on any day except Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday.

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[1] When there is only one *palol* for both kinds of buffaloes, as at the Pan *ti*, he only digs one hole.

[2] See Chapter XVII.

On the three occasions with special names, *kòrup*, *marup*, and *paniup*, guests come from other villages, but at the *arsup* this does not happen. As in the case of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony, a man from Kuudr must be present at the salt-giving ceremony of Òdr and a man from Òdr must be present at Kuudr.

The ceremony is performed by the *palikartmokh* after the people of the village have made the hole or *upunkudi*.[1] The *palikartmokh* takes from the dairy the vessel corresponding to the *alug* of the *ti*, viz., the *tat*, but does not take buttermilk. *Tudr* bark is used in the same way as at the *ti*.

At a Teivali village, the *pasthir* drink first. At a Tarthar village at which there is a *wursol*, the *wursulir* drink first, the act of sending certain buffaloes first being called *irparsatiti* as at the *ti*. After the buffaloes have drunk, *kargh* grass is thrown into the hole, first by the dairyman and then by all the others present, but it is only thrown once by each person, who says "*On*" as he throws.

The object of this ceremony is said to be that the buffaloes shall give a plentiful supply of milk.

THE PONUP CEREMONY

At the *ti* dairy salt is given to the buffaloes on certain other occasions and with a far more elaborate ritual. The ceremony is then called *ponup*, or 'festival salt,' and takes place soon after the migration from one dairy to another. At the Nòdrs *ti* the salt is given on the Wednesday following the Sunday on which the migration has occurred, and at the Kars *ti* and the Pan *ti*, on Sunday, a week later than the procession.

On the night before the ceremony the *palol* shuts up the buffaloes in the special pen called the *pou tu*.

On the morning of the appointed day, when the churning is finished, but before the buffaloes have been milked, each *palol* brings six sprigs of the shrub called *puthimul*, each sprig having on it five or six leaves. Three of these sprigs are put on one side, and the other three are used as follows:—Rice has been previously prepared and placed either on the leaf called *kakuders* or on that called *katers*. The *palol* makes a hole in this food in which he puts butter, and, taking the first sprig of *puthimul*, he plucks from it one leaf and, using it as a spoon, takes up some of the food and puts it on the fire in the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal*, saying the name of the chief *teu* or god of the *ti*. He then takes some of the butter, and holds it over the fire till it drops, when he utters the name of the same god. He repeats this with a second leaf of the *puthimul*, saying the name of the second most important god of the *ti*, and so on with the other leaves. I obtained the fullest account of *pónup* from Koboners, who had been *palol* of the Kars *ti*, and here food and butter were put on the fire six times, saying the names of Anto, Nòtirzi, Kuzkarv, Kulinkars, Onkomn, and Karmanteu.

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[1] This hole at an ordinary village is sometimes known as a *tarupunkudi*.

The *kaltmokh* then brings water taken from the ordinary stream in the vessel called *mòrkudriki*, and gives it to the *palol*, who sits in the outer room facing towards the inner room, and throws some of the rice in front of him once, some behind him once, and the rest outside the dairy. He puts some salt on the fire, and taking the water brought by the *kaltmokh*, he sprinkles it before and behind him as he had done with the food.

Then follows *kaizhvatiti*, *i.e.*, the *kaltmokh* pours out buttermilk for the *palol*. This is the only occasion on which this act takes place before the buffaloes have been milked, the ceremony of drinking buttermilk on every other occasion taking place when the morning's work is over. The *palol* gives food to the *kaltmokh*, and here, again, there is a feature peculiar to this day, for the *kaltmokh* eats his food sitting in the place in the hut where the *palol* usually sits.

The buffaloes are then milked, after which the *palol* fetches three sticks of the kind ordinarily called *kwadrikurs*, but at the *ti*, *kakul*. Each is used for a special purpose and has a corresponding name, one being called *irpasthkakul*, the second *kwarkul*, and the third *parkul*.

The *palol* takes buffalo-dung in both hands and the *irpasthkakul* in the right hand, and separates certain buffaloes

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from the rest by knocking their backs three times with the dung and stick. At the Kars *ti* two buffaloes are separated in this way; at the Nòdrs *ti* five buffaloes are set apart, one of each kind, three by the *ti palol,* and two by the *wars palol.* These buffaloes are known as *ponir.* The dairy is then purified with the dung and water. The *irpasthkakul* is laid on one side, and the *palol* puts salt in the basket called *ponmukeri,* and takes it with the water-vessel called *karpun* to the place where salt is to be given, taking also the remaining sprigs of *puthimul* and a bundle of fern.

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At the place for the ceremony there is a stone called *ponkars* (when there are two *palol* there will be two stones), and at the stone the *palol* makes a vessel of clay and water so as to resemble a milking-vessel. This clay vessel is called *teukwoi* (*teu,* god, and *kwoi,* milking-vessel).

The *palol* then takes two perfect *tudr* leaves, and fastens them together with the petioles of other leaves, so that they form a cup which is called *püvup.* Salt is placed in this leaf vessel, which is laid down by the side of the *teukwoi.* One such vessel is made for each buffalo, two at the Kars *ti* and five at the Nòdrs *ti.*

The *palol* then takes the stick called *kwarkul,* and with it makes a hole in the middle of each *teukwoi,* saying (at the Kars *ti*) "*antok teukwoi ûrlj, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* make hole, O *palol!*"). He then makes other holes round the sides of the clay vessel, saying the names of the other gods in the same manner. (At the Kars *ti* those which have already been given. At the Nòdrs *ti* the names of five gods are mentioned—Anto, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi, Kuladrvan, and Kuzkarv.) Two pieces of *tudr* bark and a sprig of *puthimul* are then placed in each hole, saying for the first, "*Antok teukwoi et, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* put, O *palol!*"), and this is repeated with the name of a different god for each hole.

Next the *palol* takes the stick called *parkul,* which has a sharpened end, and makes small holes called *upunkudi* as in the *mòrup* ceremony. At the Kars *ti* only two *upunkudi* are made; at the Nòdrs *ti* one *palol* makes three and the other two holes. *Tudr* bark is thrown three times into the holes and into the water of the spring. Water is taken from the spring in the *karpun*, salt is put into the water three times and the salt and water are poured into the holes, and the buffaloes previously set apart are led to the holes and drink three times, one buffalo from each hole. The leaf vessels previously made (*püvup*) are then given to the buffaloes, and are eaten by them. Care is taken to give the leaf vessels in such a way that the end of the leaf corresponding to the petiole enters the mouth of the buffalo first.

The *palol* takes Anto's leaf from the *teukwoi* and puts it in the *karpun* with water, then faces towards the place where Anto lives (Anto's hill) and pours in that direction, saying "*Antok*," "to Anto." This is repeated with the other leaves, the *palol* in each case turning and pouring towards the place where the god lives.

Then follows the ceremony called *tafkeirpudrti*, *i.e.*, "fern pool he strokes." The *palol* takes the bundle of fern which he has brought with him and goes to the stream, which is blocked up, so that the water accumulates and forms a pool. He waits till the pool is so deep that the water would come halfway up his thighs, when he steps in with the bundle of fern in his right hand and strokes the bundle over the water, saying the *kwarsam*, or prayer names of certain gods and buffaloes (at the Nòdrs *ti* the *palol* says, "*Anto idith, Kûlinkârs idith, Nòtirzi idith, Kûlâdrvan idith, Kuskârv idith, Mûv idith, Mòrs idith, Pan idith, Kûdreij tùdj idith*": see Chapter X). The *palol* then buries the fern at the bottom of the pool, so that there is no chance that it may come up again, and throws the grass called *kargh* into each *upunkudi* once only.

The *palol* then goes to the buffaloes and knocks one of the ordinary kind called *punir* to one side with a bush called *pirskwadriktûr* and pours a little water on its back. This is called *punir ûvk nir atiti*, *i.e.*, "he pours water on the back of the *punir*."

Finally the *palol* goes to a stream near the *upunkudi* and washes there from the hands to the elbows. This final washing is called *peiaspiti*. *Pei* is the Tamil word for 'demon,' and the word suggested that there was an idea of warding off the influence of some kind of evil spirit, but it seemed that *peiaspiti* was merely the *ti* form of *kaiaspiti*, "he washes the hands." 234 × 796 ●

The following day is called *ūpkärvnol*. On this day small Badaga children go to the *ti mad* and the *palol* gives them clarified butter on a leaf. On this day also any one who has been a *palol* (*patol*) may go to the *ti mad* and receive food unless the funeral ceremonies for one of his clan should still be uncompleted.

[783] The ceremonies of *ponup* were said to be designed to invite the gods to be present by means of the clay vessels. The *tudr* bark and leaves were said to be used in order to purify these vessels after their defilement by human hands in the process of making.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XI

THE DAIRY RITUAL

In the preceding chapters I have given an account of an 182
elaborate ritual wholly connected with the buffalo and with 771
the dairy. This ritual is certainly of a religious character,
and, though there is much in the nature of the dairy formulæ 783
which is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they are 788
intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into
definite relations with the Toda deities. 796

It seems most probable that the general idea underlying the dairy ritual is that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance, the milk of the buffaloes. This sacred substance is to be converted into other substances, butter and buttermilk, which are to be used by the profane. At the present time much of the butter goes to those who are not even Todas and are regarded by the Todas as inferior beings.

It seems most probable that the elaborate ritual has grown up as a means of counteracting the dangers likely to be incurred by this profanation of the sacred substance, or, in other words, as a means of removing a taboo which prohibits the general use of the substance.

Similarly the migration ceremonies have the general underlying idea of counteracting any possible evil influence which may accompany the passage of the buffaloes through the profane world from one sacred place to another. During the migration, objects may be seen by the multitude which under ordinary circumstances are strictly screened from the general gaze, and objects may be touched, or be in danger of being touched, by people who ordinarily may not even see them.

182 771 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

783 788 776 The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

COMPARISON OF THE PROCEDURE OF DIFFERENT DAIRIES

234 783 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

788 778 One of the details of the ritual which runs through the whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the

CHAPTER XIII

SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS

782 In this chapter various ceremonies will be described which may all be regarded as examples of propitiation of the higher powers by sacrifices or offerings. We shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies buffaloes are killed, but it is clear that there is no idea of propitiation or atonement connected with this slaughter, the animals being killed so that they may go to the next world for the service of the dead.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI CEREMONY

123 In this ceremony a young male calf is killed and eaten.
124 The ordinary name is *erkumptthpimi* (" male buffalo we kill ") or
782 *erkumptthiti*, but at the *ti* the ceremony is called *ernudrtipimi*.
I met with great obstacles in obtaining a satisfactory account,
796 the men who had told me all the details of the dairy ceremonial denying at first all knowledge of any ceremony among the Todas in which a calf was killed or eaten. As soon as they found that I knew positively of the existence of the ceremony, they acknowledged that they killed a calf, but said they could not tell me anything about it. I succeeded at last in obtaining a record of the ceremony from Teitnir, and when I was endeavouring to identify the various parts into which the sacrificial animal is divided, we met with such difficulties[1] that Teitnir agreed to allow me to see the ceremony on the condition that I would provide the cost of the calf.

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[1] Our final difficulty, the laughter over which seemed to overcome Teitnir's scruples, was in the identification of the spleen, which was described as "a little tongue."

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, 123
I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other 124
people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice
as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I 761
witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I 782
had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some 796
doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumptthpimi* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and 782
at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is 796
performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy 621
in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to
some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village 234
in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etudmad*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October. Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at 796 the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual 621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions 234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[278] The place at which the sacrifice is performed[1] is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. [793] The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over small firewood the people place several logs about three feet 372 in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood 782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*. 796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pohvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

[1] [The sacrifice of a young male calf-- the Erkumptehpimi Ceremony--Analyst]

372 The first stage of the ceremonial is to make fire by friction,
782 which should be done by the *palikartmokh.* The only occasion on which I saw fire made by friction during an actual
796 ceremony was when I witnessed the sacrifice at Karia, and on this occasion both Punatvan and his chief assistant, Pichievan (69) of Keadr, twirled the firesticks alternately, but though they soon produced some smoke, they failed to light the rag used as tinder. My constant attendant, Kodrner, was called in, and with his more powerful manipulations was almost immediately successful, and the lighted rag was carried by Punatvan to the heap of firewood, which was soon in a good blaze.

FIG. 37.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN ATTEMPTING TO MAKE FIRE AT THE 'ERKUMPTTHPIMI' CEREMONY.[1]

782 As soon as the fire is alight the calf is brought to the

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796 [1] This and the succeeding photographs were taken in a badly lighted wood, and represent the actual ceremony.

782 *erukar*, and the *palikartmokh* goes to cut a log of *tudr* wood 796 and three small branches of *tudr* leaves. The calf should be fifteen days old and must be without blemish. Its ears must not be split, its tail must not be cut, and its eyes must be clear.

The log of *tudr* wood is for the killing of the calf and is about four feet in length and about three inches in thickness. Such a log is usually called *tudrkud*, but on this occasion is named *erkumptthkud*. The three branches of *tudr* must consist of perfect leaves. Such branches are usually called *tudrkwunak*, but on the occasion of this ceremony they receive the name *toashtitudr*.

The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the calf, holding 192 the log and leaves in his right hand. He raises the log and leaves to his forehead as a salutation, and then recites the appointed prayer. This prayer is different for each clan and consists of clauses in each of which the *kwarzam* of one of the villages of the clan is followed by "——*k per mâ*." Thus the first clause of the Kuudr prayer is *atthkârk per mâ*; *atthkâr* is the *kwarzam* of Kuudr, *k* is the suffix, meaning "to," and *per mâ* is "may increase" or "may there be increase." All the clauses of the prayer are of this form except the last two, which are *karsèram parsèram*; *Nòtirzk èr usht mâ*; the first of which is a *kwarzam* of Kulinkars, *èram* probably meaning buffaloes, while the second means, "may the buffalo appear to Nòtirzi." The calf is supposed to appear to Nòtirzi and then to go from the hill of this goddess to the hill of Kulinkars. The complete prayers of Kuudr and Kars are given on pp. 288, 289.

The *palikartmokh* touches the head of the calf with the *erkumptthkud* (Fig. 38) as he utters each *kwarzam* till he comes to the penultimate clause of the prayer, at which point he begins the following series of actions. He draws the three branches of *tudr* leaves along the back of the calf from head to tail and then drops one of the three *toashtitudr* on the ground behind the calf. The two remaining branches are drawn along the back of the calf from tail to head in the reverse direction to the first, and on reaching the head one of the two branches is dropped on the ground at the head of the animal.

782 The remaining branch is drawn from head to tail and dropped
796 on the ground by the side of the first (see Fig. 39).

The animal is then killed by striking it on the head with the *erkumptthkud*. The *palikartmokh* then takes up the three *toashtitudr*, and, taking them in his right hand with the log, passes them round the calf three times. In doing this, the body of the calf rests on its side, while the log and leaves are passed between the two fore-legs, then between the two hind-legs, round the hind-quarters, and forward over the back and head, so that they make a complete circuit of the animal, and this circuit is twice repeated, so that the log and leaves are passed completely round the calf three times.

FIG. 38.—PUNATVAN UTTERING THE 'ERKUMPTTHPIMI' PRAYER. HE IS HOLDING THE 'ERKUMPTTHKUD,' AND ONE OF THE 'TUDR' LEAVES IN HIS HAND CAN BE DISTINCTLY SEEN.

The *palikartmokh* then proceeds to cut up the calf (Fig. 40),

782 beginning with a complete incision round the neck. The
796 knife used is of the ordinary kind called *turi*, but on this occasion it is called *ab*, or "arrow." On the occasion on which I saw the ceremony, the calf seemed to have only been stunned by the blow on the head and began to kick as soon as this incision was made. The animal was, in consequence, vigorously belaboured over the testicles with the log of *tudr* wood, and this was repeated till the movements of the animal ceased.

FIG. 39.—STROKING THE BACK OF THE CALF WITH THE 'TOASHTITUDR.' FUNATVAN IS BEGINNING THE THIRD MOVEMENT, AND ONE OF THE BRANCHES OF LEAVES CAN BE SEEN ON THE GROUND BEHIND THE CALF.

The next incision is down the mid-ventral line; incisions are made through the skin above each hoof, and the *palikartmokh* then removes the skin of the whole animal except the head and feet, beginning at the right fore-limb.

782 When the skin (*tars*) is removed, it is laid on the ground
796 with its outer surface downwards a few yards from the spot at which the animal is being cut up, and the *palikartmokh* proceeds to cut the animal into the following parts:—

Kwelthkh, hoof and attached skin and bones.

Mogâl, lower segment of fore-limb (metacarpus).

FIG. 40.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN CUTTING UP THE CALF. IN THE BACKGROUND KÒDRNER IS SHARPENING UP THE 'KO.'

Kemal, or *kemalth*, upper segment of fore-limb corresponding to fore-arm.

Kanòdri, shoulder.

Mêdrkwelv, trachea and larynx.

Tòdrtkars, lower segment of hind-limb (metatarsus).

Pevutth, upper segment of hind-limb (leg).

Ûrâf, liver.

Putth, gall-bladder.

Pushk, kidneys.

782 *Kwur*, small intestine.

796 *Tütkwur*, large intestine.

Mulikudri, urinary bladder.

Agelv, pelvis, including thigh bones.

Mudri, sternum and part of ribs attached.

Nūdz, heart.

Pūth, lungs.

Kwotinerûf (*kwotinûrûf?*), spleen.

Pâlvír, stomach full of milk, called *pâlvetâr* when emptied of milk.

Mutelf, lower part of backbone with parts of lower ribs attached.

Nòdi, upper half of backbone with parts of upper ribs attached.

Mad, head.

The parts of the calf are removed approximately in the order in which they are given above. The *palikartmokh* first cuts off the four feet of the animal, beginning with that of the right fore-limb and the four *kwelthkh* are placed under the skin, one at each corner.

The next part to be removed is the right *mogâl*, and then the three other corresponding parts. Up to this point, everything must be done by the *palikartmokh* himself, but after the *mogâl* have been removed any one may help, and on the occasion when I witnessed the ceremony, several operations were going on simultaneously after this point of the proceedings, and it became difficult to ascertain exactly what was being done and the exact order in which the parts were being removed. The cutting up of the calf was performed chiefly by Pichievan, while the *palikartmokh*, Punatvan, occupied himself with other operations.

After the removal of the *mogâl*, the remaining parts of the two fore-limbs are removed and placed on the skin. The larynx and windpipe are taken out together, and in doing this the large vessels of the neck are divided. The body of the animal is then taken up and held over the skin, so that the blood runs out over the parts placed on the skin, and these parts are then moved about, so that they become smeared with blood, and are then placed on the stakes (*ko*), 782 and each *ko* with its part of the animal is stuck in the ground 796 on one side of the skin. Some of the other parts when removed are rubbed in the blood on the skin.

When the different parts have been impaled in this manner, the *palikartmokh* cuts from each part a small piece of flesh called *mlis* and puts the pieces on a stake. From the ribs and sternum, he cuts a part called the *tütmlis*, much larger than the other fragments, and puts this on a stake. I could not ascertain exactly of what the *tütmlis* consisted, but it seemed to be the lower end of the sternum with some of the diaphragm attached to it.[1]

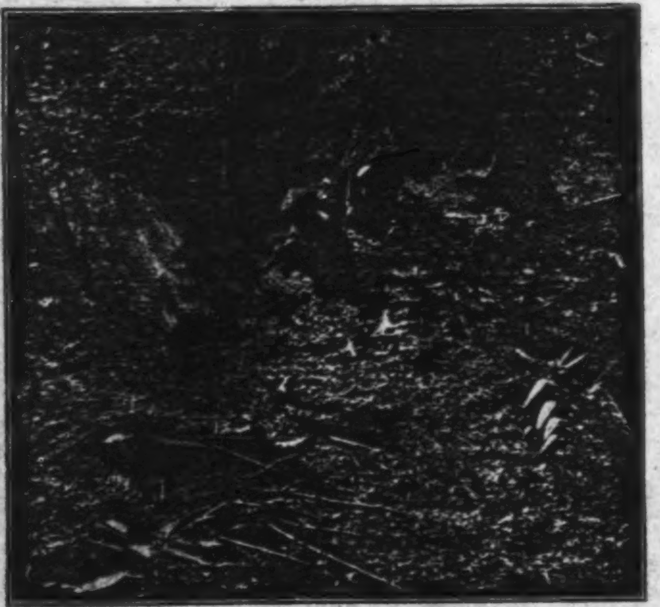

FIG. 41.—ROASTING THE PIECES OF THE CALF.

After cutting off the *mlis*, the *palikartmokh* begins to put the parts round the fire (Fig. 41), beginning with the *mogál*,

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[1] The importance of the omentum in Indian animal sacrifices suggests that the *tütmlis* might have been the omentum, or have included part of the omentum. At this stage of the proceedings, so many operations were going on simultaneously that exact observation became very difficult.

782 which are placed, one on each side, about the middle of the
796 fire, but rather nearer that end at which the head is to be placed later. The *mogâl* must be put in this position by the *palikartmokh* himself, but the other parts may be arranged in any order. While the *palikartmokh* is manipulating the parts first cut off and placing them round the fire, his assistants will be continuing the division of the animal. When the liver is taken out, the gall-bladder is cut from it and thrown on one side. The intestines are removed and put on stakes by transfixing every few inches of their length.

The small intestine is placed on more than one *ko*, while, so far as I could see, the large intestine is put on one stake. The urinary bladder is thrown on one side. The ribs are cut through nearer the back than the front, and the sternum and anterior parts of the ribs form one part, the *mudri*. It was from this part that the *tütmûs* was taken. The spleen is put on one side in order that it may be given to a cat, and its name is derived from this fact. The stomach when taken out of the body is filled with milk and in this state is called *pâlvtr*. Its contents are poured out and it then receives the name *pâlvetâr*.

As soon as the cutting up is completed and all the other parts have been placed round the fire, the head is put on a *ko*, and this is stuck in the ground at one end of the fire and about half a yard from it, and the four *kwelthkh* are placed on the ground round the head. Some of the parts placed round the fire may by this time have charred, and they are turned round so as to expose the opposite side to the flames.

The next step is to take up the head on its *ko* and place it in the middle of the fire for about a minute, after which it is replaced. The object of this is to singe the ears, which the *palikartmokh* then pulls off. He also takes certain fragments (*mûs*) from some of the other parts and throws them, together with the ears, into the fire, standing at one end, the opposite end to that at which the head is placed. He then takes three charred pieces of wood from the fire, and throws them over the fire and over the head, so that they fall beyond the latter, saying as he throws each time, "*Nòtirak per mâ, mañ!*" the

last exclamation being the sound which is ordinarily uttered 782
when calling a calf. 796

When the flesh[1] is sufficiently roasted the *palikartmokh* eats 262
the *tüitmlis*, while the others present may eat any portion. When enough has been eaten, the remainder of the cooked flesh is carried to the village. The *mogál*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are carried to the dairy by the *palikartmokh* and kept there. The flesh of these parts is eaten by the dairyman or by other men, but may on no account be eaten by a woman. The other parts are taken to the hut and given into the keeping of the women, and the flesh of these parts can be eaten by any one—man, woman, or child. Butter is often put on the flesh before it is eaten.

THE SACRIFICE AT THE TI

The sacrifice at the *ti* is called *ernudrtipimi*, and is per- 834
formed at every *ti* three times in the year. The first occasion 782
is about fifteen days after the ceremony of *teutüitusthchi* 796
in October. The second occasion is about January, when the buffaloes of the *ti* migrate to the Kundahs or elsewhere for the dry season. The third occasion is after the ceremony of giving salt, which is known as *kòrup* (see p. 175). The ceremony may take place at any *ti mad* except Anto.

The appointed days are Sunday and Wednesday. On the day before the ceremony wood is taken by the *palol* and *kaltmokh* to the sacrificial spot, called *erukar* as at the village. At Mòdr the wood in which the sacrifice takes place is called Turikipül.

The sacrifice may be performed either in the morning or evening, and takes place, in either case, before *kaizhvatiti*, the ceremonial pouring of buttermilk. This means that the sacrifice takes place during and not after the dairy ceremonial, and thus forms part of the dairy ritual. Each *palol* wears the *pòdrshtuni*, while the *kaltmokh* is naked throughout except for the *kuvn*. The *kaltmokh* arranges the firewood and the chief *palol* (at the Nòdrs *ti*, the *ti palol*) lights the wood with fire brought from his dairy. The calf is then killed and cut up with exactly the same ritual as in the village ceremony.

[1] [of a young male calf, sacrificed during the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony -- Analyst]

234 After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol*
792 return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *ernkar* to
look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and
796 takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then
262 returns to the *ernkar*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him.
At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tütmlis* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kakud*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *ernkar*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mòrol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mad* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

234 In connexion with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kush*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kush* are spread some of the grass called *nark*[1] and some leaves of the *kiars*[2] tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pon*, *i.e.*, he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

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[1] *Andropogon Schœnanthus*, a strongly-scented grass.

[2] ? *Kias.*

When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for 234
my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful.

The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Hark- 114
ness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the 782
ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed
by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gompts*." A still 796
more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself.

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the 773
sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way 782
in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh
of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting 796
the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf.

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

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[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

773 782 796 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 782 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI PRAYER OF KUUDR

192 782 788 621 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned: *Atthkâr* and *Òners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars), *Moskar* and *Manêthi* (Òdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Tîindeuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsêram parsêram*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Òdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

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[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol 192
followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this 782
case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The
following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages 788
in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kiugners* (Keshker), *Külnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Eḍstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiïkârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòḍshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tūli*, *Sing*, *Keitaz*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ekîrzam meidjam*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ekîrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars. 621

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars. 234

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the 782
Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, 789
but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make 796

234 782 789 796 it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"[1] and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

THE TEUTÜTUSTHCHI CEREMONY

782 796 This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the foot of a hill by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The name *teutütusthchi* or *teutütusthtiti* means "god fire he lights." It

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[1] I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.

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is performed in the month which the Todas call Tai, beginning with the new moon in October.

The two *palol* and the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* perform the ceremony on the first or second Sunday after the new moon, and make the fire in alternate years at the hills called Kòti and Puthi. The two *palol* of the Kars and Pan *ti* set fire together at the hill Kònto on the following Tuesday. This ceremony is not performed by the *palol* of either the Kwòdrdoni or the Nidrsi *ti*. In 1902 the Nòdrs *palol* went to the hill Kòti on the second Sunday after the new moon (October 12th).

The hills of Kòti, Puthi, and Kònto are said to be chosen because they are very high, and have the highest *teu*, who are spoken of as elder brothers.

The *palol* and *kaltmokh* set out when they have taken buttermilk after the morning work, abstaining from other food till the ceremony is over. They take with them the *nirsi* or fire-sticks, some leaves of *kakud*, a piece of *tuni*, and some dried grass from the thatch of the dairy. Each *palol* wears both the *pòdrshtuni* and the *kubuntuni*.

When they reach the foot of the hill they make a heap of firewood. They then spread the *kakud* leaves on a stone and powder the thatch of the dairy on the leaves, and each *palol* makes fire with the fire-sticks and lights the powdered thatch. Then the *kaltmokh* says, "*Teutütusthtkina?*"—"Shall I light the god (or sacred) fire?"—and both *palol* answer "*Teutütustht!*" Then the *kaltmokh* takes the lighted thatch and applies it to the heap of firewood. As soon as the fire burns well, each *palol* takes off his *kubuntuni* and, standing some little distance from the fire, the two dairymen pray, using the usual prayer of the *ti* with the following additions:

Kàr	*püv*	*mä;*	*tein*	*püv*	*mä;*	*pom*
Young grass	flower	may;	honey	flourish	may;	fruit
pursh	*mä.*					
ripen	may.					

After the prayer the dairymen and their attendant return to their dairies so as to be in time for the afternoon work.

The object of the ceremony is to make the grass and honey

173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
782 nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony* was of great
796 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem
574 to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former
importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and
Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the
chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat
the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi.*

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
796 offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Teutütusthchi* is
certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that
783 *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though
now it may be performed several times in the year. Even
now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one
occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special
importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

782 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
kwadrthpimi—i.e., we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably
234 means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of
'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a
man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes
not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a
funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death,
but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk

*[The Teutütusthchi Ceremony; See pp. 290-291. — Analyst]

234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

IRNÖRTITI, TUNINÖRTITI AND PILINÖRTITI

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their atten-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
618 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
673 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are
688 made only when one of a certain number of recognised
offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) 782
here become of importance. 796

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the 618
offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* 673
to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one 688
kudr becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pòlm* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*.

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* 234
or *tuninörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed:— 782

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy. 796

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a 673
woman in the day-time. 688

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*;
234 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
688 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[787] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol*, or day

on which the father of a man had died. According to one 234
account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should 688
give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a 673
buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to
others. 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving 782
buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatsnol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatsnol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted.

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may [723]
have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible.

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant 753
ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a 776
man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is 787
only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him
to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are 796
performed.

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
782 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove
it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the ceremony which has been ordered. The following is probably a typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*, who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madnol* or sacred days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*. The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv) and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following vow at each :—

Ir kar	*ultâmâ,*	*pirsk*	*ultikh en,*	*irnörtkin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."[1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
782 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
783 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
673 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
796 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners
to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recovering from the illness or removing any other ills which his

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[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
consequences and it is made in order to remove these
673 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence com-
796 mitted. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice
of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes.
The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which
involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

THE IRNÖRTITI CEREMONY

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at
618 any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the
buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
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ceremony is to take place, and all the men of the same *kudr* as the man who is giving the buffalo must also leave the village if they should be living there. Their place is taken by men of the *kudr* which is to receive the buffalo. If men of both *kudr* are living at the village, those of the giving *kudr* go and those of the receiving *kudr* remain ; thus, when Kòdrner, who lives at Kars, made his offering, he and his brother left and went to live at another village of the clan, while Parkurs and his brothers, who belong to the other *kudr*, remained behind. If there is a *wursuli* at the village, the *wursol* remains at his post. If the *palikartmokh* is of the same *kudr* as the offender, he leaves and a new dairyman from the other *kudr* is appointed. All the men who remain at the village sleep in the outer room of the dairy—at Kars, in the outer room of the *kudrpali*. The *palikartmokh* does his dairy work in the inner room as usual and sleeps in the outer room with the rest.

The people live thus at the village for a month, no women, no men of the offending *kudr* and no people of other clans being allowed to visit them.

The actual ceremony takes place at the end of this month, on the Sunday following the new moon. On the Saturday the man, called the *irnörtpol*, who is to make the offering brings a female calf between one and two years of age to a wood near the village and makes a rough temporary calf enclosure (*kadr*), tying the calf to a tree. If the calf is troublesome, the man and his companions may sleep in the wood by the side of the calf, but generally they leave it in the wood and go to sleep in the village where they have been living. The calf must have no blemish, its eyes must be clear, and no part of its ears or tail may be cut.[1]

On the following morning a boy between ten and fifteen years of age is chosen, who is called *ponkartvaimokh*, the boy who observes the festival. It is his duty to drive the calf.

All those who are to be present take in their hands green sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs*. All have their right arms outside their cloaks (*kevenarut*), and must have bathed in the morning and abstained from food.

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[1] The special mention of uncut ears and tail in this and the *arkumputhpimi* ceremony suggests that the widely spread practice of cutting the ears of animals may occur among the Todas, but I have no other notes on the subject.

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When the time for the ceremony comes, the *ponkartvaimokh*, who is followed by the *irnörtpol* and other men of his division, drives the calf towards the village. The people in the village then call out "*Irnört! it vos!*"—"Give the buffalo! Come here!" and they go to the appointed place and stand on the dairy side of the *irnörthars*, or other spot appointed for the ceremony, while the calf is driven up towards the stones or other mark from the side away from the dairy. The *palikartmokh*, naked except for the *kuvn*, and the *wursol*, with the *tuni* round his loins, stand with the people of the receiving *kudr*. When the *ponkartvaimokh* has driven the calf up to the place, he asks three times, "*Irnörtkina?*"—"Shall I give the buffalo?"—and the *palikartmokh* replies each time, "*Irnört!*" The boy then drives the calf across the stones or other mark to the place where the buffaloes of the receiving *kudr* are standing. According to one account, the calf is driven direct into the *tu*, but it seems almost certain that this is wrong, though it may be that it is the practice of some clans. The calf then becomes the property of the *kudr* whose representatives have been living at the village. At Nòdrs the calf is driven through the gap in the wall and across the pool of water in the direction of the conical dairy.

All those present, both the man who has given the calf and his companions and those who have received the calf, bow down to the ground, resting their foreheads on the ends of their cloaks (as in Fig. 44), and utter a formula different for each clan. At Kars it runs:—

Swâmi, Teikirzi, Târziolv, Kârziolv, Kârzû ultâmâ; ir kark ultâmâ; irnörtvuspimi,[1] *ultâmâ.*

Then all present go to the dairy or dairies and bow down at the threshold. At Kars they go to Tarziolv (the *kudrpali*), to Karziolv (the *wursuli*), and to Karzu (the buffalo pen) and

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[1] Or *irnörtpuspimi*, "buffalo giving have we come." The whole formula runs, "Swami, Teikirzi, the *kudrpali*, the *wursuli*, the buffalo pen, may it be well; may it be well with the buffaloes and calves; buffalo giving have we come, may it be well."

618 296 621 bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairyman, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*, which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the *irnörtpol* must again leave the village, but the only one of their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartvaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

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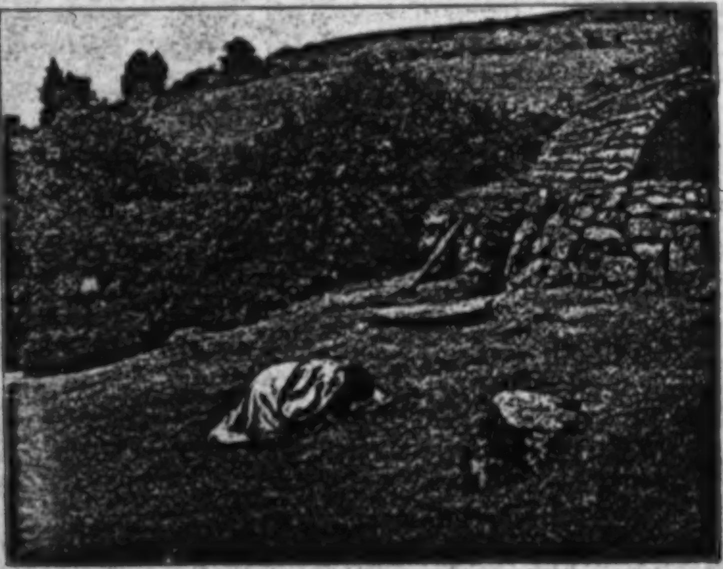

FIG. 44.—THE 'NERSATITI' SALUTATION.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no

people other than men of the same *kudr* may visit the village 618
during this time. 796

At the end of the month the people who have been
occupying the village rub the dairy or dairies thoroughly 621
with buffalo-dung (*palikâratiti*, dairy he purifies). All the people of the village then return and another feast takes place, in which the food is rice boiled in milk. Then the usual inhabitants of the village return to their houses, and if any men of the receiving *kudr* have come from another village, they return and life resumes its normal course.

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* may thus involve the removal of the usual inhabitants from a village for about two months, and the giving of two feasts, while the man who has offended also loses a calf. The Todas probably think little of the inconvenience of removal, though probably they are more troubled by it now than in former times, especially when they have to leave a village like Kars, which is, under normal circumstances, always inhabited at the present time. It seems that the inconvenience, together with the expense of the feasts, is sufficient to render the ceremony a very unusual incident in the lives of the Todas.

TUNINÖRTITI

The smaller importance of this ceremony as compared with *irnörtiti* is shown in several ways. The ceremony may be performed at any village at which there is a dairy, and it is not necessary for the people of the receiving *kudr* to stay at the village for a month before the ceremony is performed.

The prescribed day is Sunday, and on the previous day all
the people of the same *kudr* as the giver of the *tuni* leave the
village, and the men of the other division come and sleep in
the dairy as before the *irnörtiti* ceremony. The man who [437]
gives the *tuni* is called the *tuninörtpol*, and he procures the
garment from a Badaga, paying for it about 1 rupee 4 annas.

On the Sunday morning the *tuninörtpol* comes with some companions, all having abstained from food. The *palikartmokh*, who must be of the same *kudr* as the other men at the village, goes to the front of the dairy and one of the men calls out,

618 "*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may
be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
688 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
796 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an
atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
618 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
621 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*.
618 If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
796 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care 782
that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without 783
food. 796 ●

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called 618
Keikudr[1] which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtpol bon!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pilinörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:— 539

Tânenmâ, târmâmâ; atch kar tâ mâ, atch 782
May it be well, may it be well; little calf give may, little

mokh tâ mâ; kar kulâth, kar kuleiti tâ
son give may; calf not refuse milk, calf take milk give

mâ, kar nesâth, neseiti tâ mâ; opath ûtm
may, calf not kick away, stand give may; once meal

âthi punerd kwar arki madi; nû ârk mâ;
it is twelve years vow will; may there be no disease;

mudri ârk mâ; kasun ârk mâ; per
may there be no trouble; may there be no *kasun*; may there be

ârk mâ.
no Tamil.

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kasun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted: 000

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[1] This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
193 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
796 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
618 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regula-
753 tions which have been described in this chapter. One of
777 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit
the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving
of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
782 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
783 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
777 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure
688 of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this
institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were
to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. 783
When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to 782
regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as 688
if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it 796
seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo 782
is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most 783
nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in 688
going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded 618
as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of 796
pilinörtiti to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

782 social regulations exist without anything which can clearly
783 be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people
whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than
688 that they now possess.

618 If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the
796 religious sanction has been added to the system of social
punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the gods.

CHAPTER XVII

SACRED DAYS AND NUMBERS

WE have seen that nearly every Toda ceremony has its appointed day or days, and that the choice of these is often dependent on another Toda institution, the sacred day, either of the village or of the dairy. Every clan has certain days of the week on which people are restricted from following many of their ordinary occupations, although they are not the occasions of any special ceremonies. These sacred days are the *madnol* or village day, and the *palinol* or dairy day. Another occasion to which the same kinds of restriction apply is the *arpatznol*, the day of the week corresponding to that on which the father of a man has died. 527 796

THE MADNOL AND PALINOL

The *madnol* is literally the village day. Each village has its *madnol*, and in some cases it would seem that different villages of a clan might have different *madnol*, but in general the *madnol* is the same for the whole clan. 527 784 621

Certain things may not be done on the *madnol*:—

(i) *ponkisthògadi*, a feast may not be given (lit. feast may not divide, *i.e.*, food must not be shared out).

(ii) *kēdrvltògadi*, funeral ceremonies may not be performed.

(iii) *kwadrtògadi*, nothing may be given (from the village). Since buying implies the departure of money from the village, a secondary consequence is that nothing may be bought on the *madnol*, but if anything is given to an inhabitant of the village, he may bring it into the village on this day.

527 Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and 769 the *teuol* found that the desecration of the *arpatznol* was one of 787 the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday, the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that 764 funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days. ● 796 There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *wursulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *wursulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is 527
also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it 764
seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was 796
chosen.

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if 527
the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts
form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans; 796
thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I 621
have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be 618
performed.

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòdrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they
796 might fall.

Several previous writers, when recording the choice of
621 certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the
618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good
or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday,
777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi*
ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them
as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in
777 this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the
present time a given act is done or not done on a given day,
the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing 527
that the act shall or shall not be done on that day.

There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations con- 777
nected with certain days of the week which have probably
arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days.

There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the [784]
Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on
Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays,
on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is
allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and
Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol*
is visited by Todas other than the *mòrol*. Such facts sug-
gest that the three days on which the rivers should not be
crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days
which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday.
The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more
than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to
the whole community may be connected with the belief in
lucky and unlucky days.

Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas 527
evidently regard the first half of the month as most 796
auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in
most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new
moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I
met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for
the period of the full moon or for the second half of the
moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies
as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may
take place in the second half of the month, but I have no
doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity.

The definite values assigned to different days of the week 527
is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madnol* 621
we have an institution very closely resembling that of the
Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the
existence of different *madnol* for different clans of the com-
munity would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on
the business of life, and such a community would probably
agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At
present the *madnol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other
world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also
burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at
all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with
magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are
especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons
which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which
it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the
azaramkedr, and several other special sticks are also burnt,
which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former
importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man,
and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas.
The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives
796 its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential
incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special
name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in
name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony,
the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or
arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut
from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called
kanab, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
174 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
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[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

177 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*),
437 and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the
764 grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudshmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given
437 clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given
food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten
609 on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk,
796 buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day
to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified
609 butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests
796 whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy
vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

rubs it on the heads of the two Kota priests, who prostrate 177
themselves, one at each foot of the Toda, and the Toda prays 609
as follows:— 796

Ultamâ;	*Kōv*	*ërdm*	*tânënmâ;*	*kadr*	*pelumâ;*	
May it be well;	Kotas	two	may it be well;	fields	flourish may;	
mâ un mâ;	*ïr*	*kar*	*mâ,*	*nōv*	*podr*	*mâ.*
rain may;	buffalo	milk	may,	disease	go	may.

The Toda then gives the two *mu* containing the clarified butter to the Kota priests, and he and his companions return home.

This ceremony is obviously one in which the Todas are believed to promote the prosperity of the Kotas, their crops, and their buffaloes.[1]

In another ceremonial relation between Todas and Kotas, the Kwòdrdoni *ti* is especially concerned. The chief annual ceremony of the Kotas is held about January in honour of the Kota god Kambataraya. This ceremony lasts about a fortnight, and, during part of the time, the proceedings are attended by Todas and other of the hill tribes. In order that this ceremony may take place, it is essential that there should be a *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, and at the present time this *ti* is only occupied every year shortly before and during the ceremony. The *palol* gives clarified butter to the Kotas, which should be made from the milk of the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the *ti*. Some Kotas of Kotagiri whom I interviewed claimed that these buffaloes belonged to them, and that something was done by the *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti* in connexion with the Kambataraya ceremony, but they could not or would not tell me what it was.

The relations between Todas and Kotas are probably of 177
very old standing. The fact that the Kotas supply the bow
and arrows burnt at a Toda funeral suggests that the con- 174
nexion goes back to the time when the Todas used these weapons, while the special sieve supplied by the Kotas for a funeral is of a different pattern from that in use at the present

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[1] The Kotas are agriculturists as well as mechanics, and, according to Breeks, they are quite as efficient as the Badagas in this occupation. They also keep buffaloes, though chiefly or entirely for their own use.

an account has been already given. They are still capable of 184
holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise 618
only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties
in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which 234
are wholly unshared by other clans. 554

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi.* "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad oiiti.* "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti.* "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug puts nits ithtothi.* "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ithtothi.* "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the 564
ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is 796
essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part.
He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women
coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning

554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar
clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduthti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The
Melgars people themselves believed that their exceptional
618 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan.
773 They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so
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616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
184 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies
of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to
be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two
divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali
man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the
ceremony called *putkuli tâzdr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the 616
ceremony belongs to the other. 796

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called
tersamptpimi, which is performed together with or later than 852
the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three 765
months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a
lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the 769
child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of
sharpened iron called *kaṇab*, while the hair of a Teivali child
is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however,
for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony
must be performed on the day after the second funeral
of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or
Teivali.

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of 184
one division differs from that of the other more widely than in 846
any other case. The most striking difference is that the
ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, 616
and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary
consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the
chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the
conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from
the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a
time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than
they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture,
it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy
having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted
longer in this division.

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a [272]
Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is
assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings
the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident
616 reason why this rite should be practised by the members of
one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the
ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when
going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart
from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
differences between the two divisions may be regarded as
796 secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual
174 and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some
time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
184 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived
192 from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if
the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the
197 interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be
still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and
Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or
tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion; that they have never at any time eaten the flesh of the *female* buffalo; for they set an immense value and importance on the milk-giver. And there are very strong grounds also for crediting their statement; that they *never made a practice of eating the males*, even though they may have died from accidental causes. In fact they are not, and never were, flesh eaters. Not that they dislike the flavour of meat; for a meal of venison is one of those events so rare and pleasurable as to form a datum in a man's life from which to time all incidents. 262

Yet there is a yearly exceptional occasion on which all the adult males in the village join in the ceremony of killing and eating a very young male calf—seemingly under a month old. They take the animal into the dark recesses of the village wood; where the Vorshâl[4] kills it by blows of a club made of their holy tree,[5] reciting the ejaculatory prayer beginning dânenma, which has been given in full length in the last chapter. Although fire may readily be procured from the Mand, a *sacred* fire is created by the rubbing of sticks: and the flesh, which is then roasted on the embers of certain trees, is eaten only by the men—the presence of women not being permitted. 262 796 ●

No information can be had as to the origin or object of this curious and apparently sacrificial ceremony. 'It seems,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'scarcely too much to assert once for all, that meaningless customs must be survivals, that they had a practical or at least ceremonial intention when and where they first arose, but are now fallen into absurdity from having been carried on into a new state of society, where their original sense has been discarded.'[6]

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[4] Vorshâl. This is a sacred character, of whom we shall read more in Chapter XVII.

Ve, vê, are Drâvidian roots indicative of *heat*.
Varhis is Sanskrit for *sacrificial fire*.
Virragu is Tamil for *firewood*.
Vrishapi is Sanskrit for Agni, *god of fire*.
Vrishâkapi is the same. [POPE.]

[5] For further information regarding the tûde tree, see Chapter XIV.

[6] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 85.

About Ootacamund a *few* Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 791

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pūjāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pūjāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Varshāl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tūr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the *four divisions*; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tūr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *naraka*, *mutha*, or *kem* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 796 621 173

The institution is *Māmūl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting. 844

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Purzhārsh*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pekkan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*boa*), the *Purzhārsh* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālthchi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and 553 551

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* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Māmūl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

843 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[593] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Táli*?"[*] The father consents. The [322] husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kándal it is *Pirzhedkham.*
„ Muttinád „ *Pirzhírzhk.*
„ Kodanád „ *Kurrkducirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgárëff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nágo* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Mámúl* and *Shástra*. One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow*[†] *we have got a wife who is with child.*"[‡]

● 796 551 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 765 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordzai Kédu*), which takes place soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvendli Kédu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

[301]

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[*] The *Táli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Táli.

[†] See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

[‡] A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognized practice in India from ancient times is evident from Manu, iii. 33.

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[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 3—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolized by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the
bamboo measures, which were transformed into two
snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads,
which have the reputation of pursuing human beings).
After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus
nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful
manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it
for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare,
which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the
sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey,
which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into
the Paikâra river.

233 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain
seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes
both of the village and the ti should migrate from one
place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are
accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes
the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman
and one or more male assistants. There are two
chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of
which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places
. . . . The other chief reason for the
migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial
purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the
following note on a buffalo migration which he came
across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During
the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and
when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

of this, the rule was made that the body should always be 764
swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed [763]
thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a [773]
Toda who had revived from what was thought his deathbed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, 764
apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine 786
frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual [796]
ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained [191]
by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was 766
placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near

The European may enter the

house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been 184
removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the 564
ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking 794
utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of [576]
the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication
that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the 794
links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. 184
There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the
diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the
misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to [578]
Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and
sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially
if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the
pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly
evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian
meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of
the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings
attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more 574
detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. 184
The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony 794
will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin [252]
or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is
ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question [562]
of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16]
It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community
or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to
the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore,
the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen [252]
one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from
the former but not from the latter. [177]

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in 797
the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, 794
[kaнfмsodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to 184
marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness
to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a
Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to [796]
the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuuɪɪɴ], the [291]
fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she [562]

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[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*. [113]

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists 852
of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet. 302

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because 604
this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it [616]
off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, [858]
but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether 304
they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they 796
cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, [616]
they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. [793]
The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by [604]
a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is [616]
a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or
the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used [413]
is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon.
Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their [562]

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562 ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for
men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely
non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when
291 they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of
858 three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their
sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex
562 receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something
which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the
men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women.
Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex
are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and
easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men
folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social
disabilities.

462 Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties
562 as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut,
making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with
cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering.
They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously,
[252] that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also
[234] milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also
[114] mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine
"musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by
[576] putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti*
[487] salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she
is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may
not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the
majvatvaiirn, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she
[234] must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the
womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must
[841] not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

562 Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the
body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from
784 most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the
village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival.
Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even
to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only
allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by
the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

[Melgarsh Village]

complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and
stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too
that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself,
that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by ask-
ing me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not ac- [123]
cede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the [273]
occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the [431]
demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is [846]
impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even be-
ing tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the dif- [847]
ficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance
with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them
live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during
the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk
round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and
I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mut- 595
narsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed
near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they
might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleet-
ing intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with
Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children [865]
were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal ob-
servation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam
seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having
been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The* 846
Todas, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. 796
Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can
roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is
escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in im-
purity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case,
she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about
due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules,
and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was un- [183]
usual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of
bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

[Melgarsh Village]

846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
● 796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also
given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother
getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained
that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be
left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf
took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite unorthodox.
[865] So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of
jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the
time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[783] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quickest
way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable
[793] to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification.
But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean),
he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen.
He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already
in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of
children and the early development and education of the latter, I was
obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations
(which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow
for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and
a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam,
two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even
after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old
had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly
bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and
scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad
in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household
articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive
and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her.
They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but
also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the
plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins